1: Nachtigall--13 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15
Pasto SC17

Part II

Ethnography

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I. Introduction

1. Historical Sketch of the History of the Paez since the Conquista

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When the Spanish general, Sebastian de Belalcazar, as lieutenant general of Francisco Pizarro, conquered the northern part of the Inca kingdom and founded the city of Quito in the year 1534, he made careful inquiries about the countries lying farther north. Then he met a foreign Indian who gave his name as Muquetá and that of his cacique /see "Kazike" in the glossary, p. 249/ as Gogotá. When he was further questioned as to whether his country contained the metal that the Spaniards called gold, he eagerly affirmed this and added that in his country there is a lagoon /see the glossary, p. 249/, upon which his cacique travels with a raft several times a year, powdered from head to foot with gold dust, so that he looks like a gilded man. In this fashion he offers gold objects to the sun, whereupon he washes off his body and offers this gold, too, as a sacrifice. This story was the reason that Sebastian de Belalcazar in 1535 sent Diego de Tapia on an exploration to the north, in the direction of the land of El Dorado, the gilded man. He reached the present Rio Carchi. This became the starting point of the conquest of southern Colombia by the Spaniards.

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The resistance against the intruders shown by the natives of southern Colombia differed. The tribes of the Pasto and Quillacinga and the Cauca Valley tribes around Popayán offered only slight resistance. They had already been subjugated earlier by the soldiers of the Inca, whose kingdom with its northernmost expansion reached as far as Rio Ancasmayo. The Paez, Guambiano, Andaqui, and Pijao, on the other hand, living in barely accessible

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648 parts of the Central Cordillera, offered the Spaniards violent and quite successful resistance. In the same year that Belalcazar sent out the first expedition, a troop of Spaniards under Pedro de Añasco set out for the north. In 1536 Belalcazar likewise followed him. In the course of that year he founded the cities of Popayán and Cali in the Cauca Valley, important /100/ starting points for further explorations. The latter proceeded in the direction of the Central Cordillera, the paramos of Moras and Guanacos, and Tierradentro. Amid constant battles with the Paez, who at that time occupied a considerably larger area than today, Belalcazar was repulsed and was obliged to return to Popayán and Lima, leaving behind 26 Spaniards, among them several officers. In 1537 he undertook a second assault from Popayán, in order to reach the land of El Dorado through Tierradentro. With 100 horsemen, 200 infantrymen, and more than a thousand Indios as porters, he came to the Magdalena River without being hindered by the Paez. After four months of hard fighting with the natives of the Magdalena Valley, he finally, on the plateau of Bogotá, met the conquistador Gonzalo Jimenez de Quesada, who had shortly before come from the north. A threatened clash of weapons between the two conquerors was prevented by the arrival of a third conquistador, that is, when Nikolaus Federmann, the German mercenary leader who was in the service of the Welsers /a German banking house/, reached Bogotá from the east, through the lowlands of Venezuela.

We again hear about the martial activity of the Paez when in 1538/39 Pedro de Añasco, with immeasurably cruel treatment of the natives, pushed into the Magdalena Valley, in order to keep open, at the command of Belalcazar, the connecting route from Quito to Santa Fé de Bogatá, the capital of the newly founded viceroyalty of New Granada. In a desperate battle 5,000 warriors of the united Timaná, Yalcon, Paez, and Apirama succeeded in overpowering the Spaniards and capturing their leader, Pedro de Añasco. The Indios provided a dreadful fate for him, who had had the son of the female cacique of the Timaná, Gaitana, burned. Gaitana, upon whose urging the

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175 alliance of the tribes against the Spaniards had come about, had 648 him dragged from village to village and one of his limbs hacked off each day.

In order to avenge the death of his comrade-in-arms, Juan de Ampudia with his mercenaries then set out in 1539/40 from Popayán for Tierradentro. But he and his mercenaries were overcome by the same fate. He himself lost his life, and his men were driven back by the Paez amid great losses. Not discouraged by this fate of his predecessors, Francisco García set out on a new expedition into Tierradentro, but he, too, failed completely. The cacique Gaitana achieved, by means of fiery speeches, a renewed alliance of the Timaná, Paez, Yalcon, Apirama, Guanaca, and Pijao, and with 10,000 men she fell upon the city of Timaná and /101/ destroyed it. Its defender, Diego Ruiz des Campo, fell in an attempt, with his riders, to break through the dense swarm of Indian troops armed with the new weapon of lances 40 spans long.

Soon afterward Juan Cabrera was called from Neiva to Timaná for its reconstruction. The Yalcon offered peace and their co-operation in the reconstruction of the city destroyed by them. Juan Cabrera accepted this, and then, when the Yalcon and their caciques were assembled, he fell upon them from ambush and killed their caciques and the greater part of the men. There has not been a tribe of Yalcon since then.

The Paez remained intact and kept their peace until in 1543 Belalcazar returned from a brief stay in Spain and now, with 1,000 horsemen and fully equipped, undertook from Popayán an expedition of retaliation against the Paez. The Paez, fighting for their freedom in their mountains, stood up against the most experienced general of Spain. After severe, bloody losses Belalcazar was obliged to withdraw in defeat. From then on he made no further attempts to subjugate the Paez (*).

* There is a detailed description of this era, briefly sketched here, in H. Trimborn (1954), pp. 67-84 /see the bibliography in the foreign text, p. 327/.

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175 648 Nineteen years later, in 1562, Domingo Lozano made a new attempt to exploit the rich silver mines of Timaná and La Plata. He was obliged to withdraw, however, only to return the next year with reinforced troops. He founded the city of San Vicente de Paez, but only two months later, in an attack by the Paez on the city founded by him, he lost his life. An auxiliary body of troops advancing in forced marches from Popayán was also completely destroyed. After this new expulsion of the conquerors, the Paez allied themselves with the Pijao, who had destroyed Neiva in 1569. Together they attacked and plundered the silver mines of the city of La Plata in 1577, killed all the inhabitants, and set fire to the houses.

As a result of these unfavorable reports, the Spanish king energetically ordered the "pacification of the province," which from 1605-1608 was carried out so successfully that finally the troops could not find any Indios to fight or houses to plunder. In 1605, after the lost battle of Itaibe, the Paez retreated to the region of their inaccessible mountains still occupied by them today. Their western neighbors, the Guanaca, allied themselves with the Spaniards, and the latter put through their territory the [997] connecting road from /102/ Popayán to Bogotá. In 1613 the Jesuits set up the first mission station and a rest station for travelers [164] in the town of Guanacas. In 1790 most of the Guanaca fell [734] victim to an introduced smallpox epidemic. The survivors withdrew to the present Inzá, where they were absorbed among the colonists. Nothing has remained of their language.

175 648 797 The Paez continued to defend their country against the Spaniards and against missionization and, by their sudden attacks, made the road to Bogotá never quite safe. And then in the subsequent period the Spaniards had little interest in missionizing and civilizing the Paez. After the Guanacas station, only one 648 mission was founded in Tálaga. Because of the location of the 172 individual communities, enclosed by high mountain ranges, a 175 few villages were able to remain uninfluenced by Spanish civiliza- [36] tion for quite a long time. Later the authorities supported the establishment of native self-government, the cabildo /see the

/102 cont./
175 glossary, p. 248/, and, by means of reservation laws, protected
177 the Paez from the gradually advancing colonists. In this way the
648 Paez were able to preserve their language and customs to a con-
[178] siderable extent, in contrast to the other mountain tribes of
Colombia, who have long since been absorbed in the Spanish-
175 Colombian culture. In the struggles for independence from the
648 Spanish crown under Simon Bolivar from 1812 to 1824, the Paez
fought for their liberation on the republican side under Gregorio
Calambás. Their leader was captured and shot. After the
victorious termination of the struggles for independence, Gregorio
Calambás became one of the martyrs of Colombian independence (*).

* According to V. A. Bedoya, P. J. Ramirez Sendoya, and G. Hernandez de Alba (VII).

175 The Pijao perished like the Guanaca. After having oc-
101 cupied, before the Conquista, almost the entire area of the
648 present-day department of Tolima east of the Central Cordillera,
[151] as the eastern neighbors of the Quimbaya, they perished in countless battles with the Spaniards. As late as the eighteenth century, remnants of them lived in the valley of the Rio Negro de Narvaez, as neighbors of the Paez. They, called Bemb by the Paez, as well as the Guanaca, spoke languages that differed from the Paez. They could not understand one another.

178 Besides the Paez, the culture of the Guambiano, a
101 neighboring tribe called Mogweĭ by the Paez, has been preserved
114 to a certain extent up to the present day. The Guambiano inhabit the west side of the Central Cordillera and today live in the valley of the Piendamó around Silvia. The life and customs of his tribe have been recently represented by the Guambiano Francisco Tumiña Pillumbe in a number of very instructive /103/ drawings, each of which was provided with a brief text by Gregorio Hernandez de Alba.

P /134 cont./

276 Coca (ĕŭ) is a shrub whose alkaloid leaves, containing
137 cocaine, tanning substances, and various volatile oils, were used as stimulants even before the time of the Conquista, chiefly among the natives of the Cordilleras region. Almost 200 species of it are known, most of which, namely 137, occur in America (Walger, p. 9). It flourishes almost without exception between the tropics, from Honduras to Bolivia, in a temperature that generally remains between 15 and 20 degrees. In too low a temperature the leaves are small and worthless; in too hot a climate they lose strength and content. The most favorable elevation is between 700 and 1,700 meters.

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279 The word coca comes from the Kechŭa /Quechua/ lan-
192 guage (coca or cuca), which, however, does not state anything
171 definite about the origin and use of the plant, for the Kechŭa-speaking tribes of Ecuador are the very ones who do not use the plant (Cooper, p. 549). In the northern part of South America the designation hayo, hahiu is customary, in northeastern Peru ebee, hibia, hibio, and in the Amazon region generally, names
P like ypadu, ypatu, ipado, or batu (Bühler, p. 3344).

175 The first information about coca reached Europe as early
276 as 1499 through the report of the Spanish priest, Thomas Ortíz, to his spiritual superiors, according to which the natives of the northern coast of South America used a plant called hayo as a means of enjoyment. The first detailed description of the cultivation and use of the plant is found in a work, printed in 1553, by Pedro de Cieza de León, who for the first time calls attention to the fact that coca bestows strength and vigor and drives away hunger (Bühler, p. 3353).

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276 At the time of the Conquista, coca was known in Colombia
171 among the Cauca Valley tribes between Popayán and Cali, near Ibagué in the Magdalena Valley, on the savanna of Bogotá, and
P C among the tribes of the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta. Today the
276 use of coca is officially forbidden in Colombia on account of its
C harmful effects. According to Decree No. 95 of 1938, the sale
656 of coca, except in apothecary shops and drugstores, was forbidden

Among the Paez, fishing with

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poisonous plants is done once a year, in the dry season, as community fishing with weirs. For this purpose -- it was explained to me -- a dam of stones and earth is first made by the men. The herbs, which only grow high in the mountains and contain a poisonous substance, and which have been pulverized with stones, are tossed into the pool thus partitioned off. These herbs are called yűkse or kēse. The fish are said to die from them immediately. /146/ They are caught only by the men. But since the poisonous herbs are so far away and are to be found only with difficulty, the men are said to catch the fish sometimes unpoisoned at the weirs with their bare hands.

f) Weapons

The weapons of the Paez are limited to hunting weapons and children's toys, since wars are no longer fought. The only important hunting weapon today is the shotgun. As children's playthings there are the stone-sling (ísot), blowgun (pāt), and in in recent times the elastic sling (káučéro).

In former times, in the battles with the Spaniards, the Paez were said to have used lances 25 handspans long made from the wood of the chonta palm, as well as plaited shields or shields of tapir skin (Pittier, p. 327). I could find no confirmation for the present-day or even earlier use of lance and shield; my informants were familiar with neither the word nor the object. From the chroniclers, however, it is reported that the Paez, as well as other mountain peoples of this region, had learned from their battles with Spanish horsemen to defend themselves with long lances. There is, however, absolutely no foundation for a pre-Spanish use of this type of lance. It is not unlikely that the Paez originally had plaited shields (opimb). The word for skin shield (himba-kat) is interesting; its present literal meaning is "horse skin." Whether himba meant "tapir" in pre-Spanish times cannot be ascertained.

/169 cont./
491 rivers (*), for example, the Rio Kokiyó, which flows through

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* I did not see anywhere the simplest form of a bridge mentioned by H. Pittier (p. 320) /see the bibliography in the foreign text, p. 326/ in the northern part of Tierradentro, a bridge which people cross hand over hand on a liana stretched across the river.

the Calderun region, there are strong bridges over which even
491 loaded horses may go without trouble. This type of bridge
499 consists of two tree trunks placed a good meter apart, upon which poles are tied crosswise as planking. Only about every fifth planking pole is lashed, while the ones in between are held fast by a longitudinal beam laid over each of the main supports. On either side of the bridge, poles are tied vertically and horizontally as a railing and at the same time serve to support the roofing. The latter is a characteristic of all such bridges (Ills. 194 and 195 /see pp. 285 and 286/). One finds it not only on the bridges in the colonists' region of Tierradentro, but /170/ also, for example, on the bridges of the upper Magdalena River, the region around San Agustín.

The third type of bridge is found in two artfully constructed arched bridges made of bamboo over the Rio Paez at Belalcázar and Avirama (Ills. 191 to 193 and 196 /see pp. 285 and 286/).
[284] They are both quite similar in construction and, like all the other bridges of the Paez, made without nails or other iron parts, but simply lashed with bast and lianas. For reinforcement, however, two wire cables have now been stretched underneath.
491 Although even the Spaniards at the time of the conquistadors
177 report on the "weak and flexible bamboo bridges" and on the
499 "liana bridges" of Tierradentro (Hernandez, 1944, p. 189), in
[175] the case of the two above-mentioned arched bridges, which are relatively difficult to construct, it seems not to be a matter of an original Paez technique. Indeed, these would be the only suspension bridges of this type in pre-Spanish South America.

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IV. Spiritual Culture

1. Language

121 According to A. v. Humboldt, languages are differentiated by the elements of content and form, and, accordingly, languages are divided into three groups, which in the following period were erroneously interpreted as stages of the development of language. According to this, the oldest stage was represented by the isolating languages, which express form elements by means of independent words with the meaning still recognizable as far as content is concerned. Their words, as in Chinese, are monosyllabic, isolating. The second group is made up of the agglutinative languages, in which the element of form is added to the element of content, the stem, through clearly recognizable affixes. The Ural-Altaic and the Bantu languages in particular are put here. The inflected languages occupy the third stage. In them the form element is expressed by inner changes of the stem or by affixes closely intergrown with the stems, as, for example, in the Indo-Germanic and Hamito-Semitic languages.

Even though this classification of languages was subsequently abandoned as the schema of a sequence of development, it is nevertheless quite applicable as an initial, practical orientation. For the more precise classification of a language, the working out of the phonetics and syntax is required.

197 193 Paez is an agglutinative language. The grammatical forms are built up by a succession of syllables. The pronunciation is difficult for a European. It is similar to Kechua /Quechua/, from which a number of loanwords have been adopted.

175 797 192 193 114 The oldest linguistic reports about the Paez come from P. Eujenio del Castillo i Orosco, who collected his linguistic material around 1735, as a missionary in Tálaga. It was supplemented and published by E. Uricoechea in 1877. The collected data include a catechism, a vocabulary, and a grammar with information about personal pronouns and the conjugations of "to be" and "to write." The grammar and vocabulary contain some forms and word formations that are alien to the original Paez language.

/290 cont./

534 is wound around the entire body of the drum. A string with a small piece of wood as a rattle device is stretched across the lower skin. The method of construction of the drum and the bass drum [184] is the same in Calderas. A drum in Santa Rosa differs in that each of the stretchers, upper and lower, consists of a switch used double, with the edges of the drum skin clamped in between (Fig. 37 /see p. 258 /). The measurements of the small drum are 16 centimeters in height and 22 centimeters in diameter, those of the bass drum 40 centimeters in height and about 60 centimeters in diameter.

533 In playing the music, for which no text is (any longer) known, the drum and the bass drum beat the same rhythm, but in a different manner. The drum is beaten on the skin with two drumsticks, which are simply two ordinary, inarticulated pieces of wood. The bass drum is beaten with one hand with a regular drumstick consisting of a stick with a wrapping of cloth, while the other hand beats against the frame with a little stick. In three-quarter time, the principal kind of time, the bass drum is beaten with the drumstick in one hand, the first and third quarter regularly and the second quarter in eighths. The other hand beats afterwards with the other stick on the frame.

533 173 Whether this Paez rhythm is original or was taken over with the drum cannot be determined with certainty. According to the tradition of the Paez, as told in the story "The Paez with the Ax," the Pijao women in former times, when as yet /291/ there were no drums, beat out the rhythm on their breasts with their hands during the dances. We may assume that this was also in part the case 533 among the earlier Paez. According to E. Castillo i Orosco, the [175] Paez formerly used hanging chichacanoas /chicha troughs/ as drums [534] (kwimb). They consisted of hollowed-out tree trunks and during the kwimbkó dance were beaten by all the men together, while the women sang. The rhythm beaten on the drums at the present time, however, seems to be less firmly anchored than the melody. They [797] are so fond of the latter that they do not sing hymns at the Mass in [177] the mission church, but play the customary melodies on the same instruments, albeit disproportionately slower. The drum and the bass lose the beat in doing this; they do not know how to begin

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487 Routes of communication.--Until the fourth decade of the present century, the routes of penetration were horse paths which passed through the paramos of Guanacas, Las Delicias, and Moras, or through Inzá, Pedregal, Topa, and La Plata. The three first ones communicated with the Cauca valley, and the second with the /282/ Magdalena valley. These were the routes of the colonial era and, to a large extent, of the times [648] of the republic. The Guanacas route was the first to serve for communication between the kingdom of Quito and Santafé de Bogotá, owing, of course, to the more favorable attitude of the Guanaca Indians toward the conquistadores, who, taking advantage of their relationship with the Paez, made them their 797 allies and assistants. The first religious mission was established ● 175 in Guanacas in 1613. By way of the Paramo de Moras Captain Juan de Ampudia entered Paez territory to take exemplary revenge for the tragic death of his colleague-at-arms, Captain 175 648 Pedro de Añasco. To his disgrace and that of Spain, he met a terrible death on the cliffs of Togoima. By way of the same Paramo de Moras came the Adelantado Don Sebastián de Belalcázar, who had the same aims as his unfortunate predecessor, but this time his death, too, was added. The Paez gave him the most crushing defeat on the Peñón de Tálaga, and the Adelantado had to flee, leaving on the field of battle 491 the body of the heroic Captain García Tovar. The intense [484] traffic through these dangerous peaks and cold paramos decreased considerably with the opening of the Quindío road, and even much more with the inauguration of the La Plata-Belalcázar road. Tierradentro is connected by road with Popayán and 487 Neiva. Nowadays only the Indians from Mosoco, San José, and Vitoncó, and the Paez from Toribío, Tacueyó, and [788] Jambaló travel by way of the Paramo de Moras. That of Las Delicias is traveled by the Moguex, especially on their annual pilgrimages to the religious festivities of Our Lady of Nátaga. The Guanacas route is practically abandoned. There is also another route, traveled relatively frequently, which follows the

4:Bernal Villa--1 E-5 (1952-1953) 1953 SC15 Paez SC15

/177/

I

Point of Departure

To the north of the municipio of Inzá and to the west of the confluence of the Ullucos and Páez rivers, two hours on horseback from the points just mentioned, the corregimiento /district governed by a corregidor/ of San Andrés is found on the left bank of the Pisimbalá torrent, an affluent of the Ullucos. Its name has been registered in the parochial books since 1736, when the priest José Fernández Belalcázar, as the representative of the Bishop of Popayán, initiated in San Andrés de Pisimbalá pastoral visits to the Paez pueblos.

San Andrés de Pisimbalá is a pueblo with the same characteristics that we have noted in other Paez centers; that is to say, it consists of a church, a school, the rectory, the house of the cabildo, and some others used solely for the celebration of religious fiestas. It is located on a small plateau, a ledge hanging on the declivity.

At the present time it is inhabited by whites and mestizos whose ways of life, norms of behavior, and labor practices have been imposed on the natives. Resistance to contact has been overcome, but active resentment against the white still crops out among the old people. Almost completely acculturated, many of them have sunk to the state of tenant farmers. The phenomenon of the colonization of Indians and land is the same everywhere. The Indian loses his land and sinks into servitude.

In 1926 the Municipal Council of Inzá created a settlement area with clearly delineated boundaries in a common agreement /178/ between the municipal authorities and the cabildo. The colonists established themselves in that area. The valley of the Pisimbalá torrent is narrow, but extremely fertile. It belongs in its entirety to a few families of colonists,

4:Bernal Villa--2 E-5 (1952-1953) 1953 SC15 Paez SC15

/178 cont./

361 who have established coffee and sugar-cane plantations and [563] cattle ranches. The natives occupy the steep and barren sec- [177] tions.

[342] The pueblo of San Andrés consists of 23 bahareque houses /houses with walls made with two faces of sticks with mud and stone between them/ with thatched roofs. Only one is of brick and tiles. In its general lines the plan is reminiscent of that of Spanish centers: a central plaza with houses around it.

346 The church, which is large, thatched, and white, has a hand- 361 some façade, with a bell tower, arches and columns, à style reminiscent of colonial architecture; it stands in the center of the plaza and was built in the first decade of the nineteenth century by Padre Joaquín Núñez y Tobar. On its south side there stands a large, very old and dilapidated building where the school and the rectory functions; on the other sides it is surrounded by the colonists' houses.

366 There are two stores with a regular supply of merchandise, and on Wednesdays there is a small market where one beef, a few agricultural products, and chicha are sold.

133 Toward the end of the Pisimbalá valley are found the not ●175 very extensive plateaus of Argentina and El Rodeo. El Rodeo has marked historical significance; for a long time it was called Segovia. In the spirit of conquest and colonization, the town of Nueva Segovia was founded there by Captain Hernando Arias Saavedra in accordance with the mandate of Governor Sancho Espinar, who in 1578 gave up these lands after his vainglorious campaign against the Paez. It was short-lived. On this same plateau Mosquera's rebellion against the government of Don Mariano Ospina Rodríguez was won by his spectacular victory over the government forces headed by [317] General Joaquín París (1). In spite of this, the markets for

1. González, David. Los paeces /The Paez/, manuscript.

/178 cont./

several leagues around were supplied for a long time with the salt extracted from the three salt deposits that still exist in Segovia. Across from these and on the other side of the Ullucos, in Vivorá, another salt deposit was also exploited.

At the confluence of the small stream called El Escaño and the Pisimbalá, on the right bank of the latter and at the foot of the ridge of Aguacate, the Archeological Park of /179/ Tierradentro, a branch of the Instituto Colombiano de Antropología, is located on an alluvial terrace covering an area of two hectares. Founded some 15 years ago, it is in charge of the care and conservation of the archeological monuments, which have been known to the scientific world since 1936, but to which reference was made as early as around the penultimate decade of the last century, when Dr. Carlos Cuervo Márquez carried out his explorations through the "lands of the Paez and much of the Nevado del Huila." Subterranean necropolises with columns, colonnades and niches, black and red geometric painting on a white background, statuary very similar to the Augustinian, ceramics and metalwork are the principal exponents of this culture hardly known in descriptive form.

The Archeological Park of Tierradentro has served as the center of operations for the scientific expeditions which the national government has sponsored, fostered, and supported during the last 15 years.

II

Over the Zigzags of the Road

In order to travel on winding roads one needs horses resistant to fatigue; a dashing spirit must yield to a solemn step, firm tread, and steady pace.

/190 cont./

609 It was necessary for someone to tell them that they were sent by
797 /191/ Laureano Gómez before they all said: "Well, then, let
871
829 them remain."

666 In spite of their stubborn conservatism, the leaders of the
829 municipio cannot manage to make them vote for their chosen candidates unless they first get their ration of meat, chicha, and aguardiente. The ration and the vote form an indivisible unit.

829 "I am godo /Goth, pejorative for Spaniard/ to the marrow, a true conservative," exclaimed one of the important men of
[773] Calderas while he was drunk. "Juan Chiracol also was a conservative," said another.

829 The Indians of Tierradentro have been liberals since 1860,
●175 thanks to the victor's aura gained by Mosquera on the plains
648 of Segovia. "The battle of Segovia" --says the padre David González--"in which the Indians took part and in which Mosquera encouraged the native ferocity, and the march on Bogotá, which fell to the rebel general, made him a demigod
[464] in the eyes of the Paez. Since the first days of the colony they have venerated the name Mosquera; the Marquis don Cristóbal Mosquera y Figueroa had been their master, their encomendero, he had taken them to Popayán in gangs to work on his haciendas, he had given to them the huge lands of his
[665] encomienda... Naturally the Indians of Tierradentro have been strongly bound since 1860 to the political faction which represented Mosquera, liberalism. In the armed struggles which later scourged the nation, the Paez staunchly bore the liberal standard."

829 In view of this, the political affiliation of the Calderas
665 Indians is an odd one; up to less than a decade ago, they formed a conservative island in the midst of a liberal majority. Possibly this attitude conceals a great desire to defend their lands. The Calderas people have no marked sympathy for the neighboring parcialidades. "They are Reds," say the natives,

/294 cont./

311 passes through Topa, Turminá, Guanacas, El Cabuyo, Malvasá,
133 Pisimbalá, Lame, La Troja, and Irlanda, from where it twists eastward. The contour line of 3,000 meters, approximately parallel to the previous one, is very close to the ridge of the
[361] Central Cordillera. These two contour lines form a narrow zone that corresponds to the cold thermal level and within which are found the parcialidades of Toez, Huila, Vitoncó, San José, Mosoco, Lame, and Yaquivá, aside from a considerable area from the extinct parcialidades of Guanacas and Turminá.
311 This entire zone represents a "culturally influenced zone" in
[487] the literal sense that Professor Guhl gives it (2). A fine bridle-

2. Guhl, E. "Ambiente Geográfico-Humano de la Costa del Atlántico /Geographical-human Environment of the Atlantic Coast/," Revista Geográfica, p. 159.

[489] path joins Mosoco and Silvia, crossing the Paramo de Moras. The traffic of people is intense and constant during almost every /295/
311 month of the year. In the last decades, this has been an active zone
641 of native and "white" colonization. It still remains so. Coscuro
361 and Malvasá, in the Parcialidad of San Andrés, are purely "white" regions of colonization. But Tumbichukue, the high parts of Lame, Mosoco, San José, Huila, and Toez are zones of exclu-
361 sively native colonization. The importance of Mosoco is out-
311 standing. It was a great center of Páez settlement and still is, in the same manner as Pitayó and Tacueyó are on the other side of the Cordillera, but we cannot state on this account that "the major part of the settlements and the most important ones for the Paeces" are located in the cold region, as was stated
[177] categorically by Professor José Pérez de Barradas. Mosoco,
[433] fully in the process of acculturation, is a good producer of potatoes, wheat, and maize. It is the true Tierradentro in
[648] physiography, production, and progress. But in the times of
[175] the Conquest it was the people of Tálaga, Avirama, Calderas, and Togoima who defeated Ampudia and Belalcázar, and the

361 /295 cont./
311 strong political groupings had their principal seats at Tálaga,
643 Suin, and Avirama (3). "The place of residence of a cacique
175
[622]
[103]

3. Hernández de Alba, Gr. "The Highland Tribes of Southern Colombia," pp. 915-960.

constituted a sort of settlement or gathering place, most of which remain today as Indian pueblos and retain their names, such as Suin, Tálaga, Avirama, Togoima," Chitoquez, Cuetando, Yaquivá, Pisimbalá, and Itaibe, all of them located at the
361 temperate thermal level. It is precisely along the course of
311 the Páez River and along the middle and lower courses of its
161 tributaries that the Páez population is now concentrated.

13 2. Physiography. Merely a single glance at the wild geography of Tierradentro will give an idea of the pattern of life of the Páez people. The physiography of the entire course of the Páez River, from Irlanda to Itaibe, with nearly all of its tributaries, is compressed into profiled accidents. It might be said that it forms a "thermic chimney," Professor Guhl's expression. It belongs to the temperate thermal level. This is the land of the great slopes covered with natural pastures and of the short, narrow vegas with fertile soils. There are those who speak of the fertility of all the soil of Tierradentro, classifying it, consequently, as a privileged zone. The concept proves to be deceptive, because it does not take into account the physiographic factor. We find the usable vegetal layer /296/ only in the extremely narrow vegas of the rivers, ravines, and streams, and in places
13 where the topography becomes a little smoother. The left bank
241 of the Páez River, from Toez to La Plata, is usable for agricul-
[233] ture and stock-raising only with difficulty, given the brutality of the slopes. Every tributary that enters on this side is a deep ravine isolated by ridges running from northeast to southwest. On the other hand, the left bank has important vegas. It is there that plantains, manioc, sugar cane, coca, arracacha, maize, and lately coffee and guadua bamboo are grown. The soils are essentially acid, and the Gramineae grow in abundance

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THE HIGHLAND TRIBES OF SOUTHERN COLOMBIA[1]

By Gregorio Hernández de Alba

INTRODUCTION

Between the *Esmeralda* and *Cara* in Ecuador and the *Quimbaya* in the modern Department of Caldas to the north, the conquistadors, especially Governor Don Sebastián de Belalcázar, found a large number of tribes of different languages and cultures (map 1, *No. 24*; map 7). These tribes occupied the mountains of the complicated Andean system, the valleys of the many rivers, and the slopes toward the low, jungle lands of southeastern Colombia. Because of the fertility of the soils, the mild climate, which was largely cool and healthy, the rich gold and silver mines, and the situation of the lands between the important Colonial centers of Santa Fé (now Bogotá) and Quito, which they were founding, the conquistadors greatly desired to conquer and pacify the tribes, as the Spanish chroniclers and historians call the extermination of the Indians. Some peoples, like the *Pasto* living in the present Department of Nariño, north of Ecuador, readily submitted to the overlordship of the encomenderos and hacendados, and adopted their customs and beliefs. Others, like the *Andaquí*, changed their habitat, and moved down from the region of San Agustín and the headwaters of the Magdalena River eastward to the hot jungles, where they were safe from enslavement. Some, like the *Páez* and *Moguex*, protected by the ruggedness of the Sierras of their territory, resisted the Spaniards and succeeded in large measure in perpetuating their traditions. Others, however, like the *Pijao*, who were seasoned warriors, fought bloodily against the White invaders until they were totally exterminated.

The first historians of the conquest of this part of America[2] held different opinions on the cultural and linguistic relationships between these tribes. Some claimed that the dialects differed so greatly from one tribe to another as to be mutually unintelligible; others maintained that all the peoples of the Andean area of Colombia had the same cul-

[1] This study was prepared in Washington, D. C., where the Bureau of American Ethnology, of the Smithsonian Institution, the Library of Congress, and the Library of the Pan American Union facilitated my investigation as previously the Government of Colombia, my wife (who was also my companion in field work), and my friends, the *Páez* Indians of Tierradentro, had furthered it.

[2] Cieza de León, 1922; Aguado, 1916; Simón, 1882-92; Oviedo y Valdés, 1851-55; Velasco, 1841-44.

7:Hernández de Alba E-5½(no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15

ture, with only slight differences in dialects and customs. Some authorities affirmed that these Indians had no kind of religion; others gave details which reveal a highly developed religion and an organized cult. In spite of these contradictory statements and in spite of the fact that today only the *Moguex* (*Guambia*) and *Páez* Indians retain indigenous cultures, it is possible to sketch the cultural picture of these Indians at the moment of their first contact with the Spanish soldiers by reexamining the chroniclers of the Conquest according to ethnological criteria, by utilizing modern linguistics, and by studying the ethnology of the present-day peoples.[1] It is also possible to trace the acculturation during the Colonial Period, when new European usages were introduced, and to depict the social and cultural conditions of the present day. The modern penetration of highways into the Indian territory and the official policy of changing the indigenous communities are likely to bring an end to these few remaining examples of primitive Andean societies, which have survived in spite of a poor economy, bad sanitary conditions, and missionary efforts to eradicate their traditions.

A fertile field for future research lies in continuing anthropological studies in the central mass of the Colombian Andes. The region is as important for physical geography as for ethnology, as its mountain chains run in various directions to form valleys and diversified environments.

It also contains the archeological remains, known as San Agustín and Tierradentro, which long antedate the Conquest and which have an undetermined origin and relationship to cultures in other parts of America. The present article, however, does not deal with these, but is limited to ethnology.

GEOGRAPHY

The tribes considered in this article occupied the eastern halves of the present Departments of Nariño and Cauca, almost all of the Department of Huila, the southern part of Tolima, and the eastern zone of the Department of the Valle del Cauca, which embraces the western spurs of the Cordillera Central as far as Calarcá in Caldas. The region lies between 1° and 4° 40′ N. lat. and 1° and 3° 40′ west of the meridian of Bogotá. The country consists of high mountains of the Andean system, which bifurcate at the Ecuadorean border to form the Cordillera Occidental, which runs to Panamá, and the Cordillera Central, which approaches the Atlantic coast of Colombia. Each branch has high plains (altiplanos), small valleys with rivers which are tributaries of the Patía River to the west, and high mountain peaks, some of which are volcanoes, like Pasto, Galeras, and Cumbal. The area of

[1] For the languages, see especially Jijón y Caamaño, 1940-41; Castillo I Orozco, 1878; and Castellví, 1934. For ethnology, see Douay, 1900; Pittier de Fábrega, 1907; Ortiz, 1935; Guerra F., 1943; Jijón y Caamaño, 1936-38; Otero, 1938; Albis, 1934. See also Languages, pp. 921-922.

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TRIBAL DIVISIONS

Captain Sebastián de Belalcázar was the first conquistador who went north from Quito and entered the Andean region of what is today Colombia. He passed through the territory of the Pasto and Popayán Rivers to reach the region of Neiva and beyond in 1535–36.

At the time of their discovery, the native peoples north of Ecuador were very numerous, but the chroniclers, for example Cieza de León, who crossed this region in 1545 and is its outstanding historian, gave their locations and designations in a very confused manner. The historians classified the aboriginal peoples either according to small villages or groups of houses, slight differences of dialects, or slight cultural variations, so that the true classifications are very difficult to make.

Modern ethnological studies and a critical interpretation of the chroniclers somewhat clarify the cultural panorama of these regions, however, and it is now possible to list the following tribal divisions which existed just before the Conquest [1] (map 7):

Pasto.—The *Pasto* (*Koaiker, Cuaiquer, Quayquer, Coaiquer,*[2] etc.) (Jijón y Caamaño, 1936–38), who had a uniform language and culture throughout their villages, were distributed from the town of Tuza between the Mira and San Juan Rivers northward throughout the mountains to the valley of the Patía River and toward the northeast to the southern boundary of the present Department of Cauca. Eastward, they extended to the country of the *Quillacinga*, which began at the Guáitara River (Cieza, 1880, ch. 33). In the west, they occupied the western portion of Nariño, but accurate information is lacking on some tribes, which like the *Abades, Masteles* (Juán López de Velasco *in* Guerra, 1942) and *Patía* of the lower Patía River, lived toward the Pacific Coast region. The Angasmayo River in *Pasto* territory was the limit of the conquest of the *Inca* Guaynacapa (Cieza, 1880, ch. 37). Ortíz locates this river southeast of Nariño but other authors identify it with the Mayo River farther to the north.

There was a large number of native groups or villages within this area. Among these Cieza mentions the *Ascual, Mallama, Túcurres,* (*Tulcan*), *Zapuys, Iles, Guaimatal, Funes, Chapal, Males, Piales, Pupiales, Turca,* some of which are south of the Colombia-Ecuador border, *Cumba,* and others, and adds that, "All these peoples and chiefs had and have the name of *Pastos*" (Cieza, 1932, ch. 33). Guerra gives other names of small groups (parcialidades).

Quillacinga.—East and southeast of the *Pasto* lived the *Quillacinga.* Padre Velasco (1841–44, vol. 3) identified them with the *Pasto,* but cultural and linguistic differences between these tribes leave no doubt that Cieza de León (1880, ch. 33), was correct in considering them a

[1] Castellví, 1934; Guerra, 1942; Jijón y Caamaño, 1940–41; Ortíz, 1937 d, 1938 a; and Osorio, 1938, 1939.

[2] The *Coaiquer* are sometimes treated as a subgroup of the *Pasto.* (See this volume, pp. 937–938, 967–968.)

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P 113 **Contemporary descriptions.**—Albis (1934), describing a visit to the *Andaquí* in 1854; Bollaert (1860); Briceño (1899), good on the *Pasto*; Castellví (1934), on language groups; Castillo i Orosco (1878), on *Páez* language; Censo de la Población de la República de Colombia (1924); Cortés (1919), on the flora; Cuervo, M. C. (1920), on archeology and ethnology; Garganta Fabrega (1942), on coca; Douay (1900), on language; Jiménez (1936), on geography; Ortís (1935), on the native communities of Jamondino and Males; Otero (1938), on the *Guanaca* and (1939) on languages in the Departamento del Cauca; Pérez (1862), on the geography of Cauca; Pittier de Fabrega (1907), on the *Páez;* Reclus (1893); Thrasher, (1860–61); and Triana (1907).

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LANGUAGES

Ever since the chroniclers wrote of the Conquest, the problem of the native languages in this part of Colombia has been extremely complicated. One writer affirmed, "It is certain that there are more languages differing from another than there are leagues in the whole province" (Jijón y Caamaño, 1936–38, 2: 179–82). According to the "Relación de los Sucesos de Pedrarias Dávila," by Governor Andagoya, the Spaniards ascending the Cauca Valley found within 2 leagues east of Cali:

> There are other peoples with a different language from that of the *Lili*. In the ten leagues of the road toward Popayán there is another people of another language . . . toward the other cordillera of the mountains in the eastern part . . . the language of Popayán extends some ten leagues toward the south. And from the top of the mountains toward the valley of Timaná is another different language and ten leagues beyond [from Popayán] from one cordillera to the other there are other different languages all the way to Quito. [Cuervo, 1894, 2:113.]

P 197 But modern linguistic studies in this region have classified the languages spoken at the time of the Conquest as follows:

Chibchan family
- *Chibcha-Aruaco* group
  - *Aruaco* subgroup
    - *Andaquí* (Castellví, 1934)
- *Taironaco-Barbacoa* group
  - *Páez* subgroup
    - *Páez, Paniquitá, Quilla*
    - *Totoró, Polindara, Moguex (Guambía), Cacuaco,* and *Guanaca*
    - *Pijao, Panche, Quimbaya, Pantágora*[*]
- *Cachaca (Kamsá)* family
  - *Quillacinga* subgroup (Castellví)
- *Tucanoan* family
  - *Pasto* subgroup[†]

P0 [197]

[*]Castellví, 1934; Jijón y Caamaño, 1938; and Otero, 1938.

[†]Not cited by Guerra. Jijón y Caamaño classifies the *Pasto* or *Cuaiquer* language in the *Taironaco-Barbacoa* group of the *Chibchan* family.

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P 197 Po [197]

All the region of Popayán and of the *Páez* in the Cordillera Central thus spoke closely related and very similar dialects which were often grouped. For example, the dialects of the *Pijao*, *Páez*, *Timaná*, and *Yalcón* were classed together. In the south, an area of the *Pasto* language extended to Ecuador. Between the *Pasto* and *Páez*, bordering also on the *Pijao*, the native peoples spoke *Quillacinga* and *Andaquí*.

Of all these languages, there survive today only *Páez*, which is spoken in Tierradentro, and its dialect, *Paniquitá*, on the western slope of the Cordillera Central in Toribío, Caldono, Jambaló, and in parts of Silvia and Totoró. *Moguez* and the related *Totoró* and *Polindara* are spoken in Silvia and in the regions of Totoró and Polindara, according to Otero. *Andaquí* is spoken by only a few scattered groups surviving in the lower region of the Caquetá River.

HISTORY

P 175 648

After Don Sebastián de Belalcázar founded the City of Quito, he sent Diego de Tapia on a voyage of exploration toward the north in 1535 (Otero d'Costa, 1935 a). This expedition discovered the new lands of the Cordillera as far as the large Quillacinga River, today the Carchi River. This river became the point of departure for important travels in the same year by Pedro de Añasco, and in 1536 by Belalcázar, who founded Cali and Popayán, both key points for future expeditions and discoveries. These were the first White contacts with the Andean tribes of southern Colombia. In 1538, Belalcázar undertook a second expedition from Quito, crossing the Cordillera through *Páez* territory and then passing among the *Pijao* Indians. Both tribes resisted him with their feeble arms. He continued toward the east until he met the expeditions of Jiménez de Quesada and Federman at Bogotá. With the foundation of outposts by Jiménez de Quesada in the lands called the New Kingdom of Granada, Añasco was sent back to found Timaná in the territory of the *Timaná* and *Yalcón*. This city was to be the base for communications between Perú, Quito, Popayán, and Santa Fé de Bogotá.

Po 175 648 [411]

The *Pasto* and *Quillacinga*, after a few encounters with the Spanish soldiers, in which they always suffered bloody defeats because of the weakness of their weapons (arrows, lances, wooden swords, and sometimes slings) and because the Spaniards used horses and hunting dogs, began to surrender. The inhabitants of the Valley of Popayán, who were poor warriors, also ceased to struggle. These tribes had previously suffered the *Inca* invasion, which had extended north to the Angasmayo River, which washed their lands. But the *Páez*, *Moguez*, *Andaquí*, and *Pijao*, thanks to the rugged mountains in their territory and to their more bellicose character and better organization, presented a serious obstacle to the Spaniards' ideal route, which had been drawn

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[75 648] [266] [727]

by Belalcázar between the Kingdom of Quito and Bogotá. Few Spaniards wished to adventure through these wild lands where the Indians were strong and ambushed them. The founders of Timaná were constantly attacked, and the frightening legend of cannibalism began to spread. It was said that Spaniards were the preferred victims, and that the Indians considered the flesh of enemies the finest morsels in their great victory feasts. The soldiers collected some gold in the so-called penetrations (entradas) of the country—attacks really made to kill the natives, to destroy their crops, and to burn their houses. All of this made the Indians resist more strongly, but it was necessary to clear the road to Santa Fé, and the war of extermination went on without respite. Belalcázar himself returned to *Páez* territory and was defeated at the rocky cliff of Talagá in 1541, only to return with more than 200 soldiers, of whom 100 had horses, and spread blood and fire among the Indian villages. But the Indians made reprisals. They assailed Timaná and killed its mayor, after putting out his eyes and leading him through the market places with a cord passed through his face. This act of vengeance was to satisfy Gaitana, a valiant warlike Indian woman who had formed various Indian alliances against the Spaniards because they burned her son. In 1543, the *Pijao* destroyed the town of Los Angeles, recently founded in the Neiva Valley. They continually attacked the area surrounding Ibagué, but many of them were defeated and killed in 1556 in the plains of Chaparral by Francisco de Trejo's troops. Both Spaniards and Indians were stubborn in their struggles, the Indians being unwilling to make peace as long as they were being killed and their crops destroyed.

The struggle was rekindled in 1562 when Captain Domingo Lozano, having requested the privilege of conquering the Indians, organized an army and entered *Páez* territory. He founded the town of San Vicente de Páez near Huila Mountain in order to ensure Spanish domination of the heart of the country. But the Indians ambushed his soldiers and gradually killed off the cavalry, the Spaniards' strongest troops. Eventually, they destroyed San Vicente and again controlled their own rugged lands. The *Pijao*, meanwhile, fought to the death. They destroyed Villa Vieja or Neiva in 1569 and, allied with the *Páez*, took San Sebastián de la Plata in 1577, killing all its inhabitants and burning the houses. They finally put an end to and avenged the Spaniards' exploitation of a silver mine which had been discovered in *Moscopan* and *Yalcón* territory in 1551.

Fleeing Spanish pressure which extended from Timaná toward the heart of the Andes, the *Andaquí*, exhausted by the wars, followed the high hills to the east, and began in 1564 to descend toward the Caquetá River.

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The King of Spain, receiving word of the troubles in this region, ordered Don Juan de Borja, his Governor at Santa Fé, to carry out the "pacification of the province," meaning the extermination of its inhabitants. The decisive war started in Chaparral in 1605 and ended in 1608 when a Spanish witness wrote of this territory, where the *Páez* had remained free for so many years, that the provinces "were so desolated that the troops could not find Indians to fight, houses to plunder, or roots or grain to eat, and, if some Indian remained, instead of daring to plant boldly, he sowed four handfuls of grain here, two more there in the shadows and cover of the trees . . . they went about harrassed, thin, and emaciated until life was ended, for the soldiers saw corpses of people dead of hunger or sickness at every step" (Simón, 1882–92, Septima Noticia, ch. 49, vol. 5, pp. 314–15). A document in the ecclesiastical archives of Páez, dated July 17, 1638, states that in the lands adjoining the *Páez* there lived a *Pijao* Indian named Ambrosio, who had said that Captain Andrés de Zúñiga could now well enjoy this country because there were *Pijao* but not *Páez* Indians in it and because the *Pijao* saw themselves doomed and the land had no proprietor.

The *Guanaca*, who, because their chief was an enemy of the *Páez* chief, had allied themselves with the Spaniards in order to attack the *Páez*, were the first to surrender and join a Spanish colony. The first road between Popayán and Santa Fé passed through their territory, where the Spaniards established a hostelry for traders. This district was given to the Jesuits, who established the Church of Guanacas and, later, a town of the same name. But the Indians felt another lethal force of European origin—disease which they were unable to withstand. In 1790, a smallpox epidemic so reduced them that they abandoned their town, and the few survivors retired to the narrow mesa, where the modern town of Inza is situated. Here they gradually disappeared altogether.

The *Páez* continued to resist and defend their lands against Spanish missionization, so that the road to Guanaca never became secure. The extinction of the *Pijao*, the lack of important quantities of gold in the area, and the difficulty of the terrain, which was such that the Chronicler Pedro de Aguado said "to travel through *Páez* territory is to go up and down," caused the Spaniards to abandon interest in dominating these peoples. They were content to establish the Guanacas mission, and, a little later, the parish of Tálaga. Subsequently, as these Indians, who were isolated in their high mountains, were allowed to retain their customs and beliefs without interference, they did not protest when small groups of Whites peacefully occupied certain places in their lands.

Thus began the true Colonial Period for those tribes which survived the wars of the Conquest. The encomienda system was inaugurated,

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in which a Spaniard held a territory occupied by Indians. The natives, under a chief who was protected by the White authorities and who made contact between the master, or encomendero, and his subjects, had to give a certain number of days' work and a specified tribute in products of the lands, animals, gold, or manufactures. The encomiendas made no effort to Hispanicize the Indians, but continued to loot and massacre them. The Indians, reduced to utter misery, gave up all their artistic and industrial activities, and devoted the greater part of their time to the service of the master or to seeking products to pay the obligatory tribute. To remedy this situation, the Spanish Crown decreed the native "parcialidad," giving surviving groups reservations and prohibiting their employment in transporting men and goods over the highways. This reform was never entirely carried out however, and the Indians, in spite of having their own government, the cabildo or Indian council, continued in servitude or debt slavery.

The native Indian government consisted generally of a governor, a first mayor (alcalde mayor), a second mayor (alcalde segundo), a trustee (síndico or fiscal), and constables (alguaciles), the last a kind of police who transmitted to the people the orders which the Whites gave through the governors or mayors, and who carried out penalties of imprisonment, of placing in stocks, and whipping, which the first Spaniards introduced into the punishment of the natives. At the same time, the Christianization of the Indians began. It succeeded in an imperfect way, however, for the Indian attended Masses, arranged and participated in processions, and did not miss the solemn ceremonies a single Sunday largely because on the same day he brought his own products to the pueblo for sale, bought salt or meat which he needed, and devoted himself to drinking chicha, the traditional drink which he had always taken on religious or social occasions.

The Indians of Nariño, descendants of the *Pasto*, lost their language and many of their customs during the Colonial Period, although they continued to live as natives on their reservations, which daily became smaller because of the encroachments by the neighboring Whites or Mestizos. They became farmers with small landholdings and, occasionally, masons in the cities. The *Moguex* and *Páez*, however, retained their language and the greater part of their customs. Some of them, especially the men who had to deal with the Whites, learned a little Spanish, and they continued throughout the Colonial Period to defend their lands and their traditions. To religious practices introduced by the missionaries, they added such elements as the offer of food to the souls of the dead. They added to the Colonial council (cabildo) the office of captain, an official who, unlike the rest of the council, was not responsible to civilian authorities but had life tenure, sometimes a hereditary position, and more authority within the group.

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The captain was, therefore, like the aboriginal hereditary cacique, the chief of each aboriginal group.

The decrease of the native population was accelerated until, in the Province of Popayán, according to "Descripción del Reyno de Santa Fé de Bogotá," by Francisco Silvestre (1927), there were in 1789 only 64,463 inhabitants—3,603 families of Whites, 6,022 of Indians, 4,793 of freemen (Negroes), and 3,247 slaves (Negroes), who worked in the mines and haciendas and replaced the Indians, who were disappearing. When the revolution against Spain began, the various groups of Indians in this region behaved very differently, each according to the disposition previously shown. The *Pasto* followed the Spanish troops, forming a royalist unit that was difficult to conquer, whereas the *Páez* took the part of the Republic and were led by the celebrated Indian Chief, Gregorio Calambás, who was shot by Warleta, and thus became a martyr of Colombian Independence.

With the consolidation of the Republic, the laws of Colombia established reservations for the Indians, but the neglect and exploitation characteristic of the Colonial Period continued, and there were only a few missions. There has not been contemplated until now any economic, cultural, or sanitary betterment of these natives. Most of them finally have disappeared, vanquished by diseases, by economic want, which the new necessities created and contact with civilization aggravated, and by the shrinkage of their reservation lands through the ambition of those who made it a policy to break up the native communities through official subdivision of their lands.

THE CULTURE OF THE PASTO, COAIQUER, QUILLACINGA, AND POPAYANENSE

The *Pasto* or *Coaiquer*, the *Quillacinga*, and the *Popayanenses* formed a culturally homogeneous group at the time of the Conquest and later experienced very similar acculturation.

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

Farming.—Subsistence was based on intensive horticulture. Each family had its own small fields and grew potatoes and other tubers, xiquimas, a grain which Cieza calls cebada, quinio or quinoa, and maize, of which there was little in *Pasto* territory but much elsewhere.

A simple, pointed stick is used today in Nariño for planting.

The historians do not mention communal work in agriculture, but probably it was carried out in the form of labor loans (minga) between individuals, as today in Nariño and Cauca. The beneficiary of help in harvesting crops has to give each helper a basketful of the produce, a form of compensation called "chindé." He is also obligated to give similar help to the others. This communal labor is more solemn when the Indians work and plant the lands of the

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Moguex

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the fire and turns on the lights, and everyone returns to examine a layer of fine ashes placed beforehand at the door. If the ashes shows the footprints of an angel, they believe that the soul is saved, but if the footprints are those of a bird, they believe that the soul is condemned to hell. In some cases they ascertain the fate of the soul by the kind of bird prints.

WARFARE

726 The *Páez* and *Moguex* were particularly warlike. Their attacks were staged in the morning, accompanied by yells and the sound of trumpets, horns, sea shells, and drums. They were generally armed [411] with great spears or pikes, spear throwers, and slings. When fighting, they would first hurl javelins with their spear throwers, then use their slings, the missiles for which they carried in a pouch, and finally pick up their spears or pikes for man-to-man struggle. They also formed closed squadrons, men with clubs alternating with spearmen. The former would step forward to wield their clubs, and then draw back to their positions for protection. Their best defense was on high ridges, from which they rolled large stones on their enemies. They perfected these natural defenses by cutting or camouflaging paths on which they prepared ambushes. They built trenches or pitfalls, which caused the attacking Spaniards much trouble.

628 The principal enemies of these peoples were the *Pijao* and the Span- [648] ish soldiers. The *Páez* remember the *Pijao* well, and call the stone [632] statues in their territory "portraits of Pijaos," and the painted tombs, [764] "houses of Pijaos." They are afraid to see the statues or visit the tombs.

727 To insult an enemy killed in war, they cut off his penis and placed it on the road.

266 Some historians ascribe cannibalism to the *Páez* and the *Moguex*, which seems to have no basis in fact. They kept trophy heads and stuffed the skins of their enemies, but did not eat their foe. There are, however, numerous historical references which state that in the wars [175] against the Spaniards, the *Páez* left the bodies of dead enemies for the [648] *Pijao* to eat, and that they cremated their own dead or dried them [764] over a slow fire, which Friar Pedro Simón (1882–92, ch. 23) mistook [114] for a means for preserving the flesh so that it could be eaten later.

As war trophies, they kept enemy heads, which they preserved with 72 resins, and the skins of their entire bodies, which they filled with ashes [314] (Aguado, 1931, vol. 3, book 16, ch. 3). They even preserved the heads of the Spaniards' horses. They carried these trophies to wars, meetings, and feasts.

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Moguex

535 There is much dancing today. The sexes perform in couples or separately. Among the *Moguex*, some of the expert dancers are paid to dance with all couples in a sort of "bambuco." Dancing is always a part of *Páez* ceremonies for the death of children, baptismals, weddings, saint holidays, and meetings for collective work (mingas) held in the evening when people return from their plantations.

Dancing, as other social events, is subject to a special ceremony [585] or etiquette, strongly connected with religious beliefs. For example, in the wedding celebration, a prayer is first said in which the souls of [608] the dead are asked permission to dance, or "scrape the floor," as they call dancing. Only the godparents and the bride and groom may [527] dance at the beginning.

526 The *Páez* do not masquerade, but the *Moguex* always masquerade during the period of carnival preceding Holy Week.

[524] **Games.**—Games do not hold an important place among these [857] peoples. The children amuse themselves by imitating the activities of their elders. The only game recorded is simulated warfare, per- [769] formed as a part of a rite in honor of the dead after a communal feast. Two teams under their captains or caciques attacked and shot arrows at each other. Even if some contestants were killed or wounded, no one bore a grudge.

276 **Narcotics.**—The *Páez* and the *Moguex* chewed coca leaves mixed in the mouth with lime powder. Coca chewing is widespread among [756] men, but very little practiced by women. It is used especially by the shaman when he is practicing. In Colonial times the use of coca [177] spread to the rural population of Mestizos and Whites in Nariño, Cauca, and Huila.

273 **Alcoholic beverages.**—These Indians formerly made chicha of maize, [178] but today they ferment it with sugarcane molasses. They also have fermented sugarcane juice (guarapo), and a sort of rum (aguardiente). The latter is distilled clandestinely in their huts from guarapo and certain herbs fermented together in earthenware crocks. The Indians drink guarapo every day, but restrict the use of chicha and the stronger guarapo and aguardiente to market days, religious feast [462] days, burials, weddings, mingas or meetings for work, and witchcraft ceremonies. Guarapo and chicha are made by women, who sometimes chew the maize to increase its fermentation. They are stored in large, hollowed tree trunks and in large earthen jars, which are kept in a special place in the hut. There is never a lack of these beverages for home use and for welcoming an unexpected visitor.

RELIGION

175 The early Spaniards had little understanding of the religion of these 771 people. They reported that the Indians had but few idols and no temples or places of worship. Castillo mentions that they wor-

7:Hernández de Alba F-5,4 (no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

Castillo mentions that they wor-
shiped the sun, in whose honor they met and danced in places called "Itaqui-finó," i. e., the place where the sun revealed its mysteries; and that they venerated a kind of culture hero called Guequiau. It was he who instructed shamans (mohanes).

This hero has a counterpart in the religious legend of Juan Tama, the Son of the Star. One day when the Morning Star shone very brightly, some Indians found a child in a gorge—ever since called the Gorge of the Star. This was Juan Tama. They picked him up and entrusted him to a woman to nurse, but he nursed so much that her milk dried up. He was given to another woman, whom he also made very weak. They then said that he could not be nursed by a woman, and gave him food. After he grew up, he married the female chief of Huila, Doña María Mendiguagua, and became chief of all the Indians. He instructed people and explained to them how to keep the land for themselves and not mix with White people. He pronounced them invincible and summoned a chief from Pitayó, called Calambás, whom he appointed his manager. Calambás rebelled,[12] but was defeated by Juan Tama, who pardoned him on account of his bravery, and conferred on him and his heirs the right to rule the *Páez* in Bitoncó. As death approached, Juan Tama went to the lake on the páramo of Moras and sank into the waters. He had come out of this place and returned to it, leaving no heirs.[13]

In the neighborhood of Bitoncó there is a rock with what appears to be human footprints. When the Indians pass it, they uncover their heads and say, "The Holy One came this way." Another remnant of the cult of Juan Tama is the custom that each member of the council spends one week at the shores of the lake before the end of his term to render an account to Juan Tama of his actions in office. Likewise, newly elected officers, as soon as they receive their staffs or insignia of authority, spend a week at the lake. They toss silver coins into it, wash their staffs, and pray for strength to rule well. This ceremony, performed with the greatest secrecy, is called the "curing of the staffs." Recently, however, the Indians have stopped "curing" their staffs in the lake, for they say that Juan Tama is angry, and whenever they approach the lake, it rains and storms badly.

In the Guanacas section there was another sacred lagoon, called Tumbachí, which was recently drained because a snake that lived there attracted girls and kept them for a whole year, and then returned them when they were about to become mothers.

These tribes believed that the soul comes back to life.

Witchcraft was strongly developed among these Indians, who still believe in most of its practices, in spite of the catechization forced upon them by the missionaries.

[12] During the War of Independence, as well as in subsequent revolutions, the Indians of the family named Calambás distinguished themselves as warriors.

[13] We are indebted to Father David González for this legend, told to him by an old Indian in Lame.

175 771 776 [756] 773 776 776 823 [623] [621] [631] [821] 775 754 177 [669] [114]

8: Bernal Villa--18 E-5 (1953-1954) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

/178 cont./

The Family

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361 The social group par excellence in Páez culture is the nuclear family. Its importance stands out if we consider that
●175 the Páez live dispersed within their geographic area. Both the
594 chroniclers and the parish priests who concerned themselves
361 with them emphasize this characteristic. In 1751 the priest of Tálaga, Licenciado Eugenio del Castillo y Orozco, wrote in his report to Don Juan Francisco de Eguizaval, Governor and Captain General of the city of Popayán and its provinces, "that by command of his Illustrious Lordship Don Francisco José de Figueredo y Victoria on the Council of His Majesty, currently Bishop of this Diocese, I reported to the Governor previous to your Lordship, stating that since the year 1719, when I was in these Provinces assisting as interpreter for the Very Excellent Don Pedro Felipe García, then inspector for them, and afterwards in 1731 the same for Dr. D. Francisco Gómez Constantino, I learned that the Indians of this province had been inclined to live dispersed at various distances and only sat together at drinking parties in the homes of their Caciques or Capataces when they came from some Riria (which they call Necue) or to celebrate the first menstruation of a woman (which they call Izacó) or for another cause for vain observance, and, after finishing, they again separate" (3). Multiple efforts were made by the

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3. Archivo Nacional de Bogotá. "Cartas de contrabando /Contraband Letters/," Vol. 14, Fol. 228.

parish priests and by the governors of the colonial period to "reducirlos a vida sociable" /reduce them to a social life/, but the "bárbara naturaleza" /barbarous nature/ of these natives made their efforts fruitless. And this cultural trait is still

842 /180 cont./
583 the woman is fecund. For this the culture offers the institutional
581 device of "amaño," by which the man lives with the woman for a
183 time before legalizing the marriage. And we are given clear
● 175 and precise information about this by Licenciado Eugenio del
595 Castillo y Orozco and his brother, Licentiado Isidro del Castillo
583 y Hrozco /sic/, in their respective reports which they gave to the Governor and Captain General mentioned above: "that they followed the evil custom of living in intimate relations for a long time with the woman whom they were to marry, and if after the marriage they had no offspring they would leave her and seek another woman who might be fecund and whom they thought they might marry if they were not married to their own wives (as Manuel Bolza, an Indian of this village (9), wished

9. Tšlaga.

to do), and as was done by Antonio Cofongo (an Indian of San Antonio de las Chinas), from whom he learned not to break up the legitimate religious marriage, which could be prohibited, and who suggested that they get out of the difficulty by any false means, even to arranging for others, from the lowest Indian to the highest, to testify to a lying statement, and if anyone dissented from it and would not follow the wish of the Cacique or Mojšn, fear caused the dissenters to escape to other parts; some fled with their concubines when they were not acceptable to her parents or relatives, others to avoid work, and others from necessity" (10) ..."and that they flee from all their vices and

10. Archivo Nacional de Bogotš, op. cit., Folio 228.

sins, which are: witchcraft, drunkenness, and concubinage" (11).

11. Archivo Nacional de Bogotš, op. cit., Folio 230.

/180 cont./

583 In Paris on the first of March, 1877, Esequiel Uricoechea
● [175] wrote in his introduction to the Vocabulario: "Marriage in the sense in which we accept it today did not exist among the Pfieces: two people lived a married life for some time and the marriage was not legalized without the previous certainty that
[192] the woman was fecund. It is natural then, that we find among the Pfieces, as among the Peruvians, two verbs (imi and iyó) which indicate respectively the woman accepts the man and the man takes the woman. The woman was obliged to give clothing to the husband, and he "to provide sustenance for the family" (12).

12. Castillo y Orozdo, E. del. Vocabulario Pfiez-Castellano /Paez-Spanish Vocabulary/. 1877, p. XIV.

Our informants from Calderas confirm the effectiveness of this custom, some justifying it by the need of the future husband /181/ to obtain the money to pay the expenses of the wedding, others in order to "catear" /sample, find out/ if the woman is honest, a worker, and faithful, and there was no lack of those who clearly stated that this trial marriage "is customary because if the woman should turn out to be machorra /barren/ there is no marriage." When such occurs the man returns the woman to her parents without any problem standing in the way, which would not be the case if they were married by the Church, in which case the return is not possible.

162 Our investigations concerning the frequency of the "amaño"
583 in the established families of some parcialidades of Tierradentro
595 showed the following results:
184 Calderas: 42 families (28% of the approximate total of Calderan families). 57.1% of these families practiced the amaño; 42.9% were married first by the Church.

San Andrés: 13 families (6.5% of the approximate total of San Andrés families). 92.3% were married first by the Church; 7.7% practiced the amaño.